the frequency of modern machines which are more efficient but, apparently, less fun to operate.

GENERAL INSTITUTIONS

THE CHURCH AND THE SHRINE

The Arab Greek Orthodox Church. The present community of al-Mansūf was founded by Greek Orthodox Christians. If there were any inhabitants in the immediate district at the time of the founding, there is no remembrance of them. The shrines of Mar Tanūs, in Shuwayfāt, and Mar Mīnā are believed to antedate the founding of the village. Who the builders were no one knows, but they were certainly Christian. We cannot feasibly place the culture of the present village in direct continuity with non-Christian antecedents, nevertheless, the remote ancestors of the present villagers were pagans. Some suggestions of the pagan religion of Lebanon still remain, and this religion was essentially the same, so far as we know, as that in Harrān where the Mansūfīn claim to have originated. It need be mentioned here only that fertility was a major theme in Semitic paganism.

Hitti says that the present Greek Orthodox sect among the Arabs can be traced back, with certainty, only to the Melkite sect which was identifiable in the fifth century (Hitti, 1951, p. 103). The Church itself claims that its oldest patriarchate (Antioch), to which Lebanon belongs, was established in A.D. 33 (Rihbī, 1954, p. 40). The Ghassānid tribe of Syria, from which the Mansūfīn ancestry descend, appears to have been Christianized in the fourth century (Hitti, 1947, p. 79). However, Hitti says that the Melkites, the ancestors of the present Arab Orthodox, must have been recruited from city-dwellers and the descendants of Greek Colonists (1951, p. 103). This material is sufficiently confused and fragmentary to prevent us from drawing any very specific conclusions as to when and how the ancestors of the Mansūfīn became Orthodox Christians. One very important point, however, is revealed: Orthodoxy in the Middle East is almost as ancient as organized Christianity itself; it is not a recent offshoot or backwash from the European Orthodox communities. In this connection, the widely used term "Greek Orthodox" can be misleading. The Orthodox Church as a whole is "Greek" only in the sense that its original liturgy was in Greek, being largely derived from the Greek New Testament. It is also true that Greek nationals have been dominant in the Middle Eastern patriarchates, except the Patriarchate of Antioch (Syria and Lebanon) which has been completely dominated by Arabs for the past hundred years or so. Its liturgy is in Arabic (Hitchcock, 1948, p. 139). Jacques de Vitry, Crusader Bishop of Acre, reported in 1217 that the local Orthodox churches used a Greek liturgy which the congregations could not understand (Rihbī, 1954, p. 11).

Mansūf belongs to the Patriarchate of Antioch, whose head actually lives in Damascus. The other Middle East patriarchates are Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Istanbul. Both Rihbī (1954, p. 40) and Zoghby (1959, p. 10) emphasize the point

[illegible] tongues to health but do definitely take out of disease and accident out of the problems of the prevention and cure of disease.

It seems reasonable to conclude that a wide variation in beliefs concerning the deities represents a decline in the use of them which has been brought about by the widespread acceptance of modern policies. Certainly there is evidence of decline in the statement that only recently were annual processions to each of the shrines, on the saints' days, discontinued. In this general connection, it should be mentioned that no one was observed wearing or using amulets or religious medals (contrast Chitwell, 1910, pp. 140–44).

CHURCH AND ROAD

Mass is said once a week, on Sunday mornings. The church is also open every Saturday evening for prayers. Otherwise, the building is ordinarily closed and locked. Speaking generally, Blau (105, p. 90) says that in Syrian Greek Orthodox Churches daily mass is very rare. He also says that although modern Greek is the official language of the church the native language of each particular region is the one actually used in the service (ibid., p. 103). Zankov (1939, p. 109) states this to be true of the Orthodox Church as a whole. In Mosul, according to expectation, the liturgy is in Arabic, with the exception of a few special phrases. According to Blau, the liturgy is:

> . . . teeming with passages of profound spirituality clothed in language noble and poetic. Large parts of the service are sung to weird Oriental chants. The service books of the Greek Church are in fourty quarto volumes. They would appear to cover every possible occasion. There is, for example, prayers to be said by the priest when a corner stone is laid, when a building is consecrated, when a well is dug, when a well is polluted, when insects must be conjured from the vines, when devils must be exorcised, when all women are being cultivated, when a sick man cannot sleep, when one has been cured by the evil eye. (ibid., p. 104.)

Three of these were outside the church building was observed in the village.

Zankov says that the Orthodox Church from the Protestantism than Roman Catholicism in the following points: (1) extensive use of the Scriptures, (2) Controversialism, (3) the lower and pastoral effect of the Sacraments (ibid., pp. 109–10). He could well have added also the participation of laymen in the service. There is no congregational singing, but solo chants by laymen are a conspicuous element.

The priest performs all rituals only as instrument of God, and, significantly, never was the first person singular. For example, he says "so-and-so is baptized" not "I baptize so-and-so." (Zankov, 1939, pp. 87–88.)

Zankov says that there is a general feeling in the Church that other Christian sects have not fallen from Grace. "In broad-minded attitude and practice," he concludes, "orthodox [is] solid alone toward other churches and their mem-

[illegible] personality traits of a large number of Arabs. A few of these statements seem to be [illegible] to this discussion.

Tien [illegible] (1946, p. 106) lists a number of Arab cultural themes two of which, in particular, are constantly reflected in individual personalities. One of these is hospitality, and the other is the predilection for the personal touch in human relationships.

Bonne (1948, p. 201), quoting from Montilla, characterizes the Syrians as spontaneous, impulsive, versatile, endowed with excellent memories and capacities for assimilation, but somewhat less endowed with initiative and perseverance.

Kahn (1950, p. 71) characterizes the Middle East villager as a "hard worker, cautious and suspicious, but with great natural intelligence." He also remarks on the "personal element" which, he says, coupled with "the tendency of them and children to outweigh rational and practical considerations, often leads to nepotism and to the granting of personal favors which interfere with the quality of administrative service" (*ibid.*, p. 81). He also notes quickness to comprehension, the gift of oratory, and softness in the handling of other people (*ibid.*, pp. 83-84).

Thoumin (1936, p. 20) writes: "Neither Christianity nor Islam could ever modify the Syrian *r*—reality, its egoticism (semitic and religionous by turns), its passion for talk, and *on guide of the individual* in preserving a different faith from that of his neighbor" [author's translation.]

[illegible]

The matter of in-groups in the culture of Mansfil is one of central importance. A large amount of material has been given on it already, more will be said in Part Two; here the situation will be summarized very briefly.

There are three criteria for the formation of in-groups—three standards, as it were, around which the passions of loyalty and identification cluster. They are kinship, locality, and religion. These three criteria have led to the formation of four units of social structure. Kinship is the basis of the family and the lineage, locality is the primary basis of the village, religion is the primary basis of al-Qumi. To some degree the village is also a religious unit, and al-Qumi is also a local unit from the point of view of all its inhabitants.

Family, lineage, village, and Qumi—for any one individual these four form a series of in-groups of ever increasing inclusiveness from his family outward. We should ordinarily be inclined to assume that the cohesiveness and solidarity of these units would vary inversely as their size and inclusiveness. In one respect, at least, this generalization does not appear to hold true for Mansfil, for there are strong suggestions that to the average Mansfili, the village as a whole is more meaningful as a unit than his particular minimal lineage, and this is unquestionably true so far as the maximal lineage is concerned. In this connection, it must be

THE PATTERNS OF CULTURE CHANGE*

THE PAST

TRADITIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE LEBANESE VILLAGE

TANNOUS has described the social life of the traditional Middle East (including Lebanese) village as revolving around three major themes each ... which organizes action and functions emotions and values. These themes are the land (Tannous, 1946, p. 700 ff.), kinship (*ibid.*, p. 707 ff.), and religion (*ibid.*, p. 709 ff.).

Under "land" Tannous subsumes subsistence techniques, which are mainly agricultural techniques, and in general the actions, attitudes, and values of rural economic life. The major point is that the traditional peasant, who draws his entire subsistence from the land, feels toward it a rather intense personal devotion and sense of identification. In Lebanese, where individual private ownership is common, and based to large degree on inheritance from ancestors, these feelings are particularly intense.

In regard to kinship (we have previously discussed its importance as an organizing mechanism), the following quotation from Tannous, describing the social unit called *aeleleh* in the present study, is a good summary:

> It consists of all those who claim descent from the same paternal ancestor. The number of joint families that make up a kinship group varies from village to village according to the age of the common [illegible] and the occurrence of disintegrating factors that may split the group at a certain stage in its development or retard its growth. Its influence is felt by the individual in a variety of situations. From the start, the child learns that he should address every member of the unit as "cousin," or "uncle," or "aunt," or "grandfather," or "grandmother." An unreckoned slurry, it is reported of a young man in many cases other than among the kinship group. [Tannous is generalizing to all Middle East villages, and most of them, of course, unlike Muslim.] In times of serious conflicts or feuds within the village, kinship loyalty asserts itself and is binding upon every member. (Tannous, 1946, p. 705.)

Of religion, Tannous says that it is a *way of life* in the traditional village, that it permeates life completely. In this connection, he writes about the peasant and his religion: "He may not know much about its dogmas or subscribe to their

* Two main points which are treated in this chapter have been published elsewhere (Gulick, 1954); in somewhat different form.

tates, but he conforms loyally to the community folkways and modes which have been accepted entirely by the rules of the church." (Tannous, 1946, p. 140.) We can safely assume that prior to about seventy-five years ago or more, Mtaniḥ and the Mtaniḥis conformed to all these traditional patterns. Many of these still continue in force.

Our purpose now is to sort out the old and the new in the present culture as it has been described in Part One, to indicate the differential effects of change on the three major themes of village life as they have been outlined by Tannous, and, in the two following chapters, to put these differential effects into theoretical perspective.

Before we enter upon this three-part analysis, we must say something about the origins of the village and the sequence of events in its development.

THE FOUNDING AND DEVELOPMENT OF AL-MUNSIF

Of the founding of the village we have only the rather vague beliefs of the present villagers for information, namely, that the founder was an emigrant from Syria, and that there were apparently no other inhabitants in the present territory of the village-to-be when he arrived. We have seen that a maximum of twelve generations to ↑, according to the genealogy, descended from the founder. If we allow thirty years for each generation, we set the founder's birth date at approximately 1700, and deduce that he must have come to the village site sometime during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. This reasoning is based on some arbitrary assumptions, and it would be absurd to insist on too detailed a reconstruction so far as dates are concerned.

However, there are two related sets of evidence at hand which lend credence to the notion that the village was founded sometime in the early part of the seventeenth century. Hitti (1959, p. 374), in discussing the origins of the town of Ras al-Matn, which is somewhat north of and inland from Beirut, says that the ancestors of several of the Orthodox families there came from Damascus in the seventeenth century to escape the religious persecution in Syria. From 1590 to 1635, Lebanon was ruled efficiently and justly by a Druze Amir, Fakhr al-Din II, and during this period, which is considered one of the golden ages in Lebanese history, Hitti (1959, p. 422) says, "According to Volney, Christian families migrated to Lebanon 'daily' from Syria to escape Turkish rule." It is reasonable to assume that Mansour Jurjis al-Khouri and his family were among this throng.

Why did they settle in al-Qamir? This no one knows. It may be that they had been persuaded there by relatives. At the present time there are two large, prominent Orthodox families in Beirut all of which "return to" a common ancestor named Sadkia who supposedly came from Mtaniḥ or its site. It is thought that Sadkia must have been either a brother or a cousin of Mansour Jurjis. Whatever the real circumstances were, there is a plausible explanation for the settlement of

distance. We have also seen that the villagers' opinions vary considerably on the question of the desirability of village life—which is necessarily centered around agriculture—as a "way of life," in the abstract sense. Some people, mostly older people, cling to the belief that it is desirable. Many more are undecided, and their expressed attitudes and behavior tend to be inconsistent with each other, as a result. Still others, mostly young people on whom the future of the village depends, seem to be convinced that village life is not the ideal way of life, but they are experiencing considerable difficulty in finding a satisfactory substitute.

Despite these qualifications, it is safe to say that in Munsif the principle of devotion to the land has been very seriously undermined.

Religion. It is necessary to distinguish two aspects of religion as it affects the Lebanon village. One aspect is that of religion as a system of theology which gives rationale to ritual behavior. The other aspect is that of religion as a focus of group loyalty. In the traditional culture both aspects are strong, and to some extent they interpenetrate each other.

What appears to have happened in Munsif is that religion as a system of belief has been weakened. We have seen that rituals per se tend to be viewed rather casually by many, and religious techniques for the prevention and cure of disease have largely, though not entirely, given way to modern medical practices. One certainly cannot say that religion permeates every aspect of daily life, as it should according to Tannous's view of traditional patterns.

Several writers on the Middle East have remarked on a growing tendency towards secularism there. What they seem to mean is secularization of the type indicated above, secularization which is primarily due to the influence of science in education. Among these writers, Fisher has made the following statement which seems to confuse the two aspects of religion: "Religious feeling, once the mainspring of most forms of cultural and political activity is now in eclipse; instead, a spirit of materialist nationalism is taking its place, not always with advantage" (1950, p. 7).

The truth, in the present writer's view, is that religion retains its potency in the political (i.e., group loyalty) sphere, both in Lebanon in general, and certainly without any question in Munsif. We have seen that the Munsifis clearly identify their village and their district as Orthodox, that periodic rituals serve in the most obvious fashion to unify the village, and we have seen that actions which threaten religious solidarity elicit strong punitive responses.

The mild attitude toward Protestants is not inconsistent with these patterns. The few villagers who have become Protestants have done violence to religion only in the theological sphere which is not a matter of serious concern to the average villager, but they have scrupulously carried out all their other obligations as members of the in-group. Another point worth mentioning is that there has never been a direct association in the villager's minds of Protestantism and progress (i.e., disruptive change). (Cf. Redfield, 1950, p. 90.)

We can say, in summary, that the traditional forms of religion have in most aspect been weakened by acculturation, but that in another aspect it retains its traditional vigor.

Kinship. In the values surrounding kin groups, and by logical extension, the entire village group, there have been almost no changes whatever. In agriculture, we arrive at the denouement of this work. The family and the lineage maintain their function of serving as a link between the individual and the villages a whole, which is, itself, a kin group toward which feelings of utmost loyalty and unity are directed.

The only suggestion of a weakening of the village as an in-group is the recent and increasing tendency toward village exogamy (mainly on the part of women). This seems to be accompanied, however, by no diminution of feelings of village loyalty on the part of most of these women. Potentially, this tendency is a threat to the strength of the village because the children of these marriages will have no more than a sentimental attachment to it through their mothers. What effects this will have, or whether any counter-efforts will be developed—these matters is in the future.

That last aspect of religion which has remained the most vigorous is precisely that aspect which, along with kinship, serves to define and intensify kin groups. The remainder of this work will be devoted to an analysis of the question of why these in-groups, exemplified in multiple fashion by the village of Mogil, have maintained their strength in a period of momentous cultural change.

I

[illegible] population of 1,200 people and general social organization, Bikfayyeen is typical of the Lebanese village communities. It is situated in the foothills of the Lebanon mountains, fifty miles to the north of Beirut and twelve miles to the south of Tripoli, the two seaports of the country. The writer was born and grew up in this village. He is the product of its native Arab culture, as influenced and modified by the traveling American culture. The present article is based upon personal experiences--his own, with an Arab-American background, and that of his people, who have lived in the same village for eight generations.

With respect to the religious situation in the village previous to the appearance of mission activity, it is sufficient to emphasize a few salient facts. In the first place, there were in the village three religious sects--a large majority of Greek Orthodox (about 1000 people), a small minority of Moslems (about 150 people), and three Maronite households, which will be neglected in the discussion. Secondly, the relationship between the two religious sects had always been such as could be characterized as harmonious and stable. Each sect took it for granted that there had always been and there will always be two sects in the village--Moslems and Greek Orthodox. Consequently, there had never been any attempt on the part of one sect to interfere with the religious practices of the other or to undertake any proselyting campaign. Thirdly, religion in the village had always been an integral part of the whole village life. It was not a matter of degree, as

[illegible] method of worship, not apart and separated from the practices of daily living. It was rather a way of life. The church grew up with the village, influencing it and at the same time being influenced by the other aspects of village life. There, in and about upon the church rested nothing short upon village life altogether.

II

Early in the second half of the 19th century, three religious missions appeared on the spot horizon of the Lebanon area—the Protestant (mainly American), the Catholic (mainly French), and the Greek Orthodox (Russian). There were other missions too—Italian, German, English, and Scandinavian. However, the influence of these did not reach Shikshinnee and they need not be discussed here.

The American Presbyterian mission has always been the most influential Protestant mission in the country. They began their work early in the second half of the 19th century. Beirut was their first base, whence they reached out to the surrounding Lebanese villages. Later, they established a second base in the town of Tripoli, from which they began to work in the neighboring villages of the Koura district, including Shikshinnee. About 1870, they succeeded in establishing a simple elementary school at Shikshinnee. A native Protestant teacher (man) was put in charge. A simple square room was found, whose owner was willing to rent it for the purpose. Children were few and parents were encouraged to send their children to the new school.

It seems that, at first, the people of the village

[illegible] specialties as follows: mayor, 1; priest, 1; taxi driver, 1; barber, 2; storekeeper, 2; fisherman, 3; surveyor, 1; mason, 1; carpenter, 2; shaikh 2. There are 4 small stores in the village. There are also two bakeries which are important social centers for the women. One of these is owned by the taxi driver, the other by one of the teachers.

The city occupations include a variety of white-collar jobs (such as clerk, librarian, and government official), semiskilled and skilled jobs, and the following specialties: Protestant preacher, 1; detective, 1; fireman, 1; soldier, 1; tailor, 1; seamstress, 2; waiter, 2; hospital attendant, 2; janitor, 1; surveyor, 1; merchant, 2; teacher, 17; medical nurse, 10. One man in the village had been a practicing physician but has now retired. The prevalence of school teaching is notable, and it will be considered that the pattern for this specialty was established early in the process of culture change. Over two-thirds of the working women are nurses (including student nurses). It was explained that nursing is a respected occupation and that since the women work in the shelter of a large institution, it is a safer position for them than many other city jobs are.

The factors of change in the economics of the village can be summarized as: (1) a drastic reduction in the number and proportion of agricultural workers; (2) a rapid and extensive development of non-village and non-urban occupations, of which there is a considerable variety; and (3) women working outside and away from home for the first time in the history of the village. The variety of the women's occupations is much more restricted than the men's. The majority of the women are under 30 years of age and appear to consider their jobs as preludes to marriage rather than as life-long careers.

Religion. Religion does not appear still to permeate the everyday life of the villagers, in those activities and problem areas which have been, generally speaking, strongly affected by modern rationalism and rationalization — in the prevention and cure of disease, for example, — rationalistic procedures seem to take precedence over ritualistic.

In addition to the village church, there are three saints' shrines in al-Mansūrī. Associated with each structure is a section of waqf land of which the priest is the custodian, and the produce of which contributes to his support. Each shrine is at some distance from the others and from the village proper, so that it is impossible to get to a shrine without deliberate intent and effort. Traditionally, the shrines are used primarily for the purpose of special prayers, offerings, and vows on behalf of those who are sick. It might be supposed that as the rationalistic treatment of disease increases, the intensity of the use of shrines would decrease. This is a subtle matter and really conclusive evidence on it could not be obtained. However, it was clear that the opinions of the villagers regarding the meaningfulness of the shrines are varied and conflicting. One remark was that the saints could not

all the mortgage or to recapture the land sold. At present there are many among the old emigrants who refuse to sell the land they own back home, although they have lost the hope of ever returning to live there.

This attachment to the land and to the community life that has developed on it is one of the fundamentals of national existence. It contributes essential stability and continuity to national character, especially in times of crisis and change. There are, however, factors such as a faulty land-tenure system, lack of adequate credit facilities, and absentee landownership that have been threatening this basis of security in village life. Although most of the land in Lebanon is privately owned, held in fee simple either by the individual farmer or by the joint family group, in certain sections of the country, mostly outside the central mountain region, share cropping prevails. There is no doubt that this condition, associated in many cases with absentee ownership, has retarded agricultural development and resulted in an appreciably lower standard of living, especially in many of the villages of the Bekaa' plain and the Bikā' valley.

Religious experience is another outstanding feature in the life of the rural folk of Lebanon. They take their religious organization, Christian or Moslem, seriously. Like their land and their agricultural activity, it constitutes a major part of their existence. Religion is not confined to formal services at the church or the mosque. It is expressed in wholesome recreation that takes place in connection with various festivals honoring patron saints. The Arabic word for festival, 'id, is the symbol of a rich cultural complex including joy, relaxation, sociability, and religious fervor. When the farmer refers to his land, crops, or animals, he invokes Allah's name and blessing. On certain occasions some of the season's produce is carried to the church to be blessed. The earnest greeting between farmers at work is not "Good morning" or "Good evening," but rather "May Allah give you health and strength."

Furthermore, there is a striking identification of the religious organization with the local community. It is the people of the village who donate the land and erect the church or mosque building. The priest is usually a resident of the village, chosen